





THE THREAT OF DISUNION—THE PROTECTIVE POLICY—A NATIONAL  
FOUNDERY—PENNSYLVANIA'S STAND-POINT.

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SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN W. KILLINGER, OF PENN.

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Delivered in the House of Representatives, March 14, 1860.

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The House being in the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union—

Mr. KILLINGER said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: During the protracted contest for the Speakership, I was often tempted to exclaim, with the Roman orator, "How long, O Catiline, will you abuse our patience?"

The expressions of disloyalty to our Federal Union, which were so profusely fulminated from the Democratic side of the House, seemed so utterly repugnant to every sense of patriotic duty, that I could not sit in my seat without words of rebuke leaping to my lips and struggling for utterance. So, too, when I, in common with others, was arraigned for opinions which we do not entertain, and for events which we deprecate, it required great forbearance to withhold my immediate denial, and hurl back my indignant defiance. But impressed with the conviction that all our proceedings, with the exception of the ballots for Speaker, and the successive adjournments, were irregular, I managed to hold my peace.

It is provided by statute that the members of the House of Representatives shall assemble on the first Monday of December, and choose a Speaker, "previous to which, no business shall be transacted." I have felt myself called upon to observe this requirement of the statute, and I deem the present a fit occasion to call the attention of the people to the enormity of the recent transgression of the law by the lawmakers themselves. The example which they have set has been one of mischievous tendency, and encouraging to that spirit of lawlessness which is unfortunately too prevalent in our country, and threatens more than any other thing, in my judgment, the stability of our Government and the permanence of our institu-

tions. I judged, too, and the result has shown correctly, that it was the part of wisdom to preserve silence while leading members of the Democratic party ventilated their schemes of disunion, and elaborated the grievances under which they conceived the Federal Union to be groaning! Before we were fairly seated here, these gentlemen thrust "the irrepressible negro" upon us, and most vehemently have they belabored him ever since! I felt persuaded that no advantage would result to the great interests in whose behalf I came to the Thirty-sixth Congress by mingling in the heated discussions on that and kindred subjects; and I would perhaps only have fanned the embers of a flame which I would gladly extinguish, rather than feed and keep alive by constant irritation. Not that I felt indifferent to the grave character of the scenes through which we have passed. I trust I share the feeling of concern, so freely and so feelingly expressed here, for our common country, and her continued prosperity. Certainly, I would be recreant to the high trust reposed in me by the patriotic and intelligent constituency which I represent here, if I failed on this, the first fitting opportunity, to declare their unaltered and unalterable attachment to the principles and policy on which rest the superstructure of our Government, and their determination to maintain the Constitution and the Union unaltered, unamended, and unbridged. In the past, these have proved the elements of our greatness and strength; in the present, they are the sheet-anchor of our political safety; in the future, no one can contemplate their overthrow without emotions of dread apprehension, and hopeless despair.

I am one of those who do not despair of the Republic. After two months of persistent ef-



fort, we succeeded in electing a Speaker of this House; and that event, with concomitant circumstances, proved, a complete answer to the impotent threats and vaporing harangues to which we had been subjected during that period of time. Since then, the public creditors, who were so clamorous for their dues, have been satisfied; the wheels of the Government move smoothly on their freshly-greased pivots; and the African has been left to quiet repose! Had the *Helper* book not been dug from its obscurity by the New York *Herald* a week before Congress met, some other appliance would have been resorted to, with a view to the renewal of the negro agitation. Some men and some parties prefer strife to peace.—They live in contention and they thrive in tumult. The political dodge that succeeded so admirably in 1856, was attempted to be renewed here. Under the pressure of the Union-saving process, many patriotic citizens were successfully duped into voting for Mr. Buchanan; and thereby he attained the summit of his life-long aspirations, and became a minority President. Under his administration of the Government, the party which elevated him to power has become demoralized, and is conceded to be powerless in almost every free State. He has effectually accomplished what his political opponents had hitherto failed to accomplish; he has extinguished the Democratic party North, and has sectionalized it, so that it has virtually become the mere parasite of the slavery propaganda of this country. And now, in this hour of dire distress, that their columns are broken, their legions are scattered, and the proud memories of their past history are falsified, the discovery is again made, that the Federal Union is in imminent danger of going to pieces.

All there is of truth in the assertion is the fact that the union of the Democracy with the power and patronage of the Government threatens to be interfered with before the present year comes to a close; and so "irrepressible" is this cohesion of the spoils of office, that the most discordant elements and the most opposite extremes of men and opinions are laboring together to prevent so dire a catastrophe. The slave States have had possession of the Federal Government, and have shaped its policy, nearly all the time since the adoption of the Constitution; and Senator HAMMOND, of South Carolina, in the Senate, not long ago, declared that Southern statesmanship had guided the vessel of State by the chart of Southern policy for half a century, without interruption or interference. And yet, on the slightest intimation being given that the free laboring interests of the North were seeking a recognition of their power in the Government, an absolute howl of complaint is set up in nearly every Southern State. South Carolina and Mississippi send itinerant commissioners to the capitals of neighboring States, to utter their lamentations over what they fancifully assume

to be Northern aggressions; and Virginia, the mother of States, the cemetery of Presidents, listens with some degree of patience to these recitals. Alas! that the pen of history, with remorseless accuracy, should recount the degeneracy of these latter-day saints of a spurious Democracy!

When our fathers sealed their devotion to the cause of constitutional freedom with their blood, they hoped that the virtues which acquired the inheritance would be transmitted with it; and that their posterity, for countless ages, would syllable their praises and sound their fame along the corridors of time, in strains undying as the music of the spheres. But where now, in portions of the country, is the veneration for the great and good men of our golden age? Where the respect for their labors and achievements? Men high in public position scoff at the great names that adorn our history, and laugh to scorn the teachings of our glorious past! The political compact by which our fathers bound us in one common destiny is regarded as men regard a garment—to be put on and off, as it suits the caprice of the wearer. The duty we owe to a common country, the allegiance due to a common Constitution, are treated as encumbrances that may be thrown aside at will. The so-called National Democracy renounce the usual and time-hallowed mode of redress for political grievances; and, instead of addressing themselves to the enlightened conscience and sober judgment of the people, they resort to the language of intimidation and menace to accomplish their purposes. Not content to rest their cause upon the intelligence and patriotism of the people—the true tribunal of last resort for the redress of political grievances—many of them boldly proclaim their determination not to submit to the election of a President who is distasteful to them, or their party, or their section. In other words, if a majority of the people of the United States, in pursuance of law, and under the forms prescribed by the Constitution, elect a gentleman who is not *their* choice, they will treat the election as if it had not been held—resist it by violence, and prevent its consummation by an appeal to arms!

Sir, I have yet to learn that any respectable number of the people of any State or section of our country participate in these schemes of treason and projects of disunion. I am even unwilling to believe that the gentlemen who utter such sentiments represent, in any fair sense, the opinions of the people at large in any portion of our country. There are, doubtless, political demagogues South as well as North, who are inflaming the minds of their people and exasperating their prejudices by mad appeals of this sort; and it is easy to see that they maintain a sort of unenviable notoriety before the people by their violent harangues and angry denunciations. Disunion is thus avowedly put forth as a remedy for political defeat in the

coming Presidential election by many of the high priests in the Democratic temple. Clothed in their sacerdotal robes, these gentlemen, solicitous to retain their leaves and fishes, and well pleased with the luxurious appliances by which they are surrounded, have broken out into this cry of disunion, common with them on the eve of a Presidential election, with an unusual chorus of vociferation, the notes being pitched a little higher, and the emphasis being a little more tragic, by reason of recent events. No California miner ever struck a placer with more real satisfaction, and pursued its golden treasures with more zeal, than do the Democratic politicians, eager in the pursuit of the seven principles underlying the Democratic superstructure, (according to Mr. Randolph,) follow up the advantage which they suppose Brown's invasion has given them!

The right of the people to choose a Chief Magistrate of their own sovereign will and pleasure is, however, one of their essential liberties, and will be surrendered neither to menace nor force. The Union of these States forms no debatable topic. It belongs not to the current politics of the day. Its existence is a fixed fact, and lies down amid the foundations of our political superstructure, firmly and irrevocably, as lie the mountains which encompass us about, the very impress of Divine beneficence and power. They who seek its overthrow will meet the doom of felons the moment they put in execution one threat, or commit one overt act of rebellion to its authority. One such example in each State will be a sufficient example to deter others from offending in like manner, for one generation at least. There is not likely to be another John Brown for some time to come, who will venture to invade a sovereign State, and defy its authority. Nor will more than one disunionist levy war or commit an overt act of treason against the Federal Government, without meeting his just deserts. His punishment will be speedy; his doom certain.

Let me recall the experience of 1832. Mr. Calhoun then proposed to nullify an act of Congress; and for that comparatively simple proposition, General Jackson had made up his mind to execute the last extremity of the law upon him. The people, North and South, in the presence of the fact that the stability of the Government was threatened, and its power defied, pledged themselves to sustain General Jackson, with their means and their muskets, in enforcing the laws and maintaining their authority. We were nearer then, it is true, by a quarter of a century, to the times that tried men's souls, as in a furnace of consuming fire. In the degeneracy of these latter days we see Democrats, clothed in the mantle that Jackson wore, and professing to be touched with live coals from the altar upon which Jackson offered his oblations, menace the free institutions of our country with overthrow, and our political Union with disruption, "from turret to founda-

tion stone." And now we have a President who, instead of boldly defying the treason, and bringing the power of the Government to bear against the moral traitors, affiliates with the one, and takes to his loving embrace the other.

But, despite these things, the fires of patriotism are not extinct. They slumber, it is true; else we should not hear these frequent appeals to disunion as the fancied remedy for the ills of the moment; but let the people be aroused to any real danger of such an issue, and the smoldering elements will be rekindled to a fervent heat, before which treason and traitors, North and South, will be consumed like stubble in the field! Who are you, gentlemen of the South, that assume thus and here to exercise the functions of sovereignty? The servants of your masters—the people; the delegated agents, for a little brief hour, of your respective constituencies, for a limited purpose! Dressed in a little brief authority, I will not say you play fantastic tricks, but I will say you exceed your authority; and your threats, shorn of all moral force, are impotent, and fall on our ears like the idle wind, which blows where it listeth!

Sir, disunion implies war! Secession means rebellion! Treason deserves death—the hangman's rope, the felon's doom! How do you propose to divide the Union? Where will you begin? What is to become of my honored State, the keystone of the Federal arch? The Hall of Independence, the ark wherein was consummated our political covenant, stands there, and the spot is sacred in the contemplation of every lover of his country. Will you separate it from the sisterhood of States? Will you give up your share in the common glory which was achieved on the heights of Bunker Hill? The blood of our ancestors was shed on the battle-fields of New Jersey; and I am unwilling to surrender the patriotic memories enkindled by their services on the soil of that gallant State! And do you ask us to give up our title to the glorious achievements in the sunny South? We share with you the glory of that intrepid veteran who wrote in letters of living fire upon the foreheads of the disunionists of his day, "the Federal Union must be preserved." With you, we claim a share in the name and fame of America's greatest orator, who sleeps his last sleep beneath the soil of Kentucky. When, as a people, we lose regard for the memories and teachings of those illustrious dead, then, in my judgment, are our consciences seared as with a red-hot iron, and our brows crimsoned with an infamy so deep that the waters of Niagara cannot wash it out. Then are we indeed ready for the work of demolition. Then batter down, from turret to foundation stone, this proud Capitol; level it with pick-axe and spade, so that, like the temple of Jerusalem, there shall not be left one stone upon another! Pull down the palatial buildings that adorn your Federal city, and strew salt upon their founda-



tions. Let not these mementoes of the virtues of your patriotic ancestry stand, if you mean to disrupt the ties which now bind us to a common and a glorious Union! And when you have done these things, go to yonder proud shaft, that is rising to the memory of him who was "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen," and leave no stone of it standing, so that your cup of infamy may be quaffed to the dregs, and your work of disunion be thus effectually and thoroughly done!

Southern gentlemen have strangely misconceived the spirit and purpose of the great movement now pervading the masses of the North "at every point, like an atmosphere." It has been argued here as though the mad attempt of John Brown to run off negroes held to servitude in Maryland and Virginia had received the countenance of, and was approved by, the masses of the Northern people. It has even been suggested that the *animus* of the great Opposition party to the Democratic Administration was the abolition of slavery where it now exists by force of positive law. Such assertions are entirely unfounded in point of fact. I am not commissioned to speak for any people but those I represent here; but I think I know the general and prevailing sentiment of my whole State well enough to declare that our people do not regard negro stealing as any part of their platform, nor negro equality as any remedy for political grievances. Our people do not preach insurrection, nor practice violence. They do not make forays upon sister States, nor set at defiance the established authority of their neighbors. They cultivate relations of peace and friendship with all, and would rather cement than loosen the ties of fraternity and good will. As our great State is geographically central, so she is equally removed from fanaticism and folly. There need be no apprehension felt anywhere as to her loyalty; for there is no sentiment more deeply imbedded in the hearts of her people than devotion to the Constitution and Union. We interfere not with the rights of any State, but cheerfully concede all that are guaranteed in the Constitution. No subject can be introduced here during this Congress, that I am aware of, that can justify the intemperate harangues to which we have been compelled to listen since first we met here. The enforcement of the laws, as we find them on the statute book, and expounded by the Federal Judiciary, until altered or amended by competent authority, has always been a cardinal doctrine with the party with which I am acting; and I know of nothing that has occurred to change its correctness or the binding force of its authority. That great party is eminently national and conservative. Progressive, it is nevertheless sure and steady in its progress; fearless in the avowal of its principles, it is yet moderate and conciliatory. It seeks, by a united effort among its supporters, to dislodge the Democratic party from its pos-

session of the Government, and to restore the policy of the republican fathers in its administration. The main elements of this party's strength are, opposition to the cardinal vices in the doctrines and practices of the Democratic party. These are, its anti-American or free-trade theories, and its anti-free-labor or pro-slavery policy.

The protective policy is, in my judgment, the life-blood of the body politic, and especially so in our own great State. Whatever prominence may be given to other great questions, this is the paramount one with our people. Our soil is fertile to the hand of intelligent labor; and whatever surplus we have to sell of our vast productions, we prefer to sell in a regular and steady home market, constant in its demands, and not subject to the fluctuations of foreign trade. Stored away in treasuries strong as her ancient hills, yet of easy and cheap approach, our State holds mineral wealth, in the enduring forms of coal and iron, of exhaustless amount and incalculable value. The two are in such close proximity that they will always aid to elicit and elaborate each other. This vast treasure lies so near her cereal regions, and both are so readily approached from all important centres of trade and manufactures, that there, more readily than anywhere else, may the five great industrial classes—the farmer, the miner, the manufacturer, the carrier, and the tradesman—exchange their labor and possessions for their mutual comfort and advantage. To aid her in developing this measureless wealth, and in enriching her own citizens instead of Europeans, by the profit made between the cheap material and the rich result, Pennsylvania has vainly petitioned the National Congress for many years. Her facilities, if unhindered by the hostility of the Democratic party, are unequalled in the world; and yet her mines and mills and forges, in their best estate, have only been half worked, and we have imported manufactured iron, when we ought to have supplied it to half the civilized world.

Look, for a moment, at my own, the capital district of the State. Its northern boundaries are the great anthracite coal regions, extending throughout the central and eastern portions of Pennsylvania, containing an amount of undeveloped wealth which passes the imagination of man to conceive. Its southern boundaries comprise the Cornwall hills; strewn along which, in profuse abundance, are the largest and most valuable deposits of iron ore in this country. Not less than fifty million tons of the raw material lie there, awaiting the hand of the miner and the skill of the manufacturer. And between these two ranges of coal and iron mountains lies a valley of agricultural beauty and fertility unsurpassed in the world. With railroads passing through it, easy of access to the seaboard, and containing water power of rare excellence, that valley seems to be pointed out,

as if by Divine significance, on account of its great natural and artificial advantages, as the locality best adapted to the establishment of the National Foundry, so long in contemplation, and, I trust, now soon to be firmly fixed in its "local habitation" in this, the garden spot of Pennsylvania!

Pennsylvania is a free-labor State. She was among the first, in her calm, deliberate way, to abolish human bondage within her own borders. The brows of her hardy yeomanry are moist with the sweat of honest labor, and their palms are browned with exposure to toil. Instead of being esteemed "mud-sills," in consequence thereof, we regard them as the salt of the body politic, "leavening the whole lump," and the equals, in every noble attribute that belongs to our manhood, of the proudest in the land. Many of our free laborers seek homes in the broad Territories which stretch beyond the Mississippi, and we are anxious that they should there retain the dignity of freemen. Our great metropolis, already the first manufacturing and second commercial centre of the Union, is interested in having those broad Territories prosperous like Ohio, and not uncultivated like Arkansas. But our great State is equally bound to her Southern and Northern sisters by the ties of blood and patriotism, and wishes to perpetuate forever, and brighten continually, the golden chain of peace and harmony. She is considerate, and willing that other States shall enjoy their preferred Constitutions and their constitutional rights, as she wishes to enjoy her own. She pours out no gratuitous upbraidings on her neighbors; sharpens no pikes, and loads no rifles, for Southern insurrections. She simply demands that the weight of the National Government shall be thrown in the scale of human freedom, rather than in the extension of human bondage; or that, at least, fair play be exercised; so that Oregon, with less than fifty thousand people, be not warmed and fed at the paternal fireside, while Kansas, with one hundred thousand, stands out in the cold, because her people do not choose to be Democratic and pro-slavery.

I have a thorough and earnest conviction that the protective policy is the only road to national and financial independence; the only practice by which we can reach the stability and strength which it was the design of our forefathers that we should attain. It is, emphatically, a question of independence; whether we shall gather strength and enjoy prosperity under the system that was the theme of Henry Clay, and elaborated by his great mind and glorious patriotism, or whether we shall sink into drivelling dependence, worse than our former colonial condition. I believe, for my own part, that protection is the first duty of Government. We give our allegiance to Government as the correlative of protection. Why do we ride a navy on the seas? To protect commerce. Why do we build lighthouses on our coasts?

To protect commerce. Why do we erect expensive fortifications on our frontiers? To protect the citizen and his property. Why do we maintain a Patent Office? To protect genius in the fruits of invention. When these are the features of the political system under which we live, I demand that he who disembowels wealth from the earth, that the farmer who raises his crops for the market, or the miner who penetrates the surface, and sinks the shaft for mineral wealth, shall also, each and all, be protected. There is no true philosophy in the negative of the proposition. And just so often as we depart from the proposition itself, we are overtaken by languor in the body politic, distress among those who represent labor, and find our Government plunging into embarrassment and difficulty.

The example of England holds out an instructive lesson to us. Hers was a policy of protection, and under its operation she culminated to the proud position she now holds among the nations. She now professes free trade, but invariably practices protection to home interests. The great secret of her greatness is in the perseverance with which she has preserved that policy which invited capital and enterprise, and gave encouragement to her industry. Afterwards, it is true, when her manufactures and machinery had arrived at comparative perfection, she invited free trade with other nations less advanced in the arts than herself, but always maintained an advantage in favor of the home Government. She occupies this day all the great channels of commerce of the world. She has, in the pursuit of her policy of imperial centralization and colonial empire, already seized and fortified nearly every important headland of the earth, and her flag is continually carried to new conquests to feed her commerce. Her steamers traverse every ocean; their lines are continuous around the globe.

We sometimes speak of being the commercial rival of Great Britain; but I will be pardoned for saying the comparison is more flattering than true. We may ultimately compete with her, but we must become first her equal as a manufacturing nation, and accumulate wealth within our own borders, by cherishing every department of home industry. Then our spindles will make perpetual music, and our ships will bear away to other lands our surplus manufactures, bringing returns which will give profitable employment to our labor. Our pursuits will become diversified; the circle of happiness will be enlarged in the same proportion as the circle of energy is extended; and, as a people, we shall move forward to the high destiny which awaits us.

Incidental or accidental protection is a fraud and a deception. I claim protection *per se*; that protection which recognises American labor and affords encouragement to American enterprise. This demand is as old as the Amer-



ican Revolution. Benjamin Franklin asserted it before the British Parliament, when they attempted to coerce their American colonies into a non-protective policy. It has been said that our revolutionary struggle was precipitated by the casting of a few tea chests into Boston harbor. Not so. The stand-point of antagonism to the mother country was protection to American industry. The other colonies joined Boston, and entered into a compact that they would use no articles of foreign manufacture. That was the first Union of which we have an account in American history, and it led to the greatest and most blessed political results the world has ever seen. When the first Continental Congress assembled, what was its first act? An act to encourage American industry. It contained a preamble to the effect that the customs duties were levied for three purposes: for the revenue of the Government, the liquidation of the war debt, and the protection of American industry. I have no patience with that man or party who maintains, now-a-days, that protection must be inferential or circumstantial, incidental or accidental. Such a doctrine is absurd in principle, unsupported by precedent, and most pernicious in its application.

Our experience—what is it? If you refer to our history, you will find that all our prosperity has been traceable to the principle of protection. Your thrift and plenty have ever been in proportion to your tariff. In 1816, and again in 1828, under protection, your industry was marked by universal success. The moment that policy was abandoned, disaster and depression came upon us; and when we reached the sliding tariff of 1841, universal distress spread over the country. Under the horizontal tariff, everything ran down. But in 1842, when protection was restored, and when we had our highest protective tariff, then was the period of our greatest prosperity.

Mr. Chairman, two great systems of labor and economy are struggling for the mastery in the present Congress. We cannot shut our eyes to the fact, that our systems of free and slave labor are in conflict, so far as protection from the General Government is sought to be obtained in their respective behalf. The bold and novel proposition is now pending in the Senate, that the General Government shall, and of right ought, protect the slave property of our Southern States upon the hitherto free and untrodden soil of our Western Territories. What is familiarly known as a slave code for the Territories has now become a recognised and acknowledged principle in the platform of the Democratic party in Congress, so far as that party has acted upon the suggestion. It will be remembered that some time ago Senator Brown, of Mississippi, introduced resolutions into the Senate, covering the ground now under consideration. They were referred to the caucus of the Democratic Senators, and a committee

was there appointed to report on them. That committee has performed the duty assigned to it, and asks the concurrence of the Senate, and the country, in the doctrines of slave sovereignty, avowed in them, over the free Territories of the Northwest! It is asserted that there are but one or two Democratic Senators who dissent from the conclusion arrived at, and we may readily believe, judging by the past history of that party, that this offensive doctrine of protection to the interests of slave labor will be incorporated in the Charleston creed, and henceforth be regarded as part and parcel of "the true faith." Certain it is, that if any "lower deep" of prostitution be deemed requisite by the Southern taskmasters who preside over the destinies of that party, to prove the utter subserviency of the Northern Democracy to their behests, there will be found those who will crawl and creep, and crook the pregnant hinges of the knee, that thrift may follow!

I advert to this new-fangled theory of the Southern free-trade Democracy because of its connection with, and bearing upon, the question of protection to free labor, which I am considering. While these gentlemen, unwisely as I think, resist our efforts to bring about the much-needed modifications in our tariff laws, and assert the unconstitutionality of the protective principle, they are clamoring for the application of the same principle, in substance and effect, to their negro property in the Territories of the United States. The interests of free white men are to be ground to powder beneath the iron heel of foreign competition and pauper labor, while the power of the Federal Government is to be executed on the side of protection to the spread of slave labor and slave institutions over every inch of American soil, in a Territorial condition, from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same, now free and unfettered as the winds that blow over those broad and fertile plains? No warrant of authority, Mr. Chairman, in your Constitution, for the development of the vast resources hidden in our mighty mountain ranges; no encouragement for the bone and muscle that delve and dig in the bowels of the earth; no protection for the free white men of your own land, who are bone of your bone, and flesh of your flesh! But authority ample, and rights secured, in your constitutional compact, for the unlimited spread of African slavery! This is truly and emphatically a question of capital against labor. I plead in behalf of the protective system, not that my sympathies are unduly aroused in behalf of the capitalist, but because I regard it as the great and vital interest of the laboring masses of our population, of those equally who bend their broad backs in the fields of husbandry, as of those who swelter amid the fires of the forge and the furnace. My plea is not meant for capital, but for toil—not for money, but for men!

Unhappily, as I think, one of Pennsylvania's



Senators was a member of the caucus committee to whom this subject of a slave code for the Territories was committed, [Mr. BIGLER.] and he is understood to assent to the proposition. While we cannot obtain the assent of Democratic Senators, North or South, to the much-needed protection for Pennsylvania's industrial interests, I regret to see one of our own Senators foremost in spreading, by giving assent to legislation of the character referred to, the curse of slavery, and crippling thereby the energies of the mighty Northwest. But it is another evidence of the great truth which cannot be too often impressed upon the public mind, that the party which is allied with the pro-slavery propaganda of this country is hostile in all its traditions and instincts to the protective policy. No favorable legislation can be expected from a political party which, through its great leaders, looks with contempt upon free labor, and which regards, through its leading presses, free society as a failure.

I do not desire to do injustice to any man, or party, in making these remarks. But facts are stubborn things, and the truth must be told. The conduct of the Democratic party in this House, a few days ago, attests the correctness of the position I have taken. Mr. MORRILL, on Monday last, reported a bill, from the Committee of Ways and Means, providing for the funding of twenty millions of the national debt, and increased revenues by modifications of the present tariff laws. The motion to bring it before the House failed, for want of two-thirds, and the negative votes were all cast by Democrats, North and South, with a single exception. It was not even allowed the friends of the bill to have it printed, for the information of the House and the country. How, then, can any fair-minded adherent of the Democratic faith hope for any relief to the industrial interests of our State from his party in the National Congress? What does this unanimity mean, on this, the first test vote, if not that no protection to labor, and no provision to pay the national debt by increased revenue laws, will be conceded by the Democratic party?

In this connection, it is but just to remark,

that the professions of the recent Democratic State Convention of Pennsylvania are utterly meaningless, and without avail. In the same breath, that Convention approved the Cincinnati platform in all its length and breadth, whereof, as the country well knows, a principal plank is "progressive free trade." Mr. Buchanan's cheap verbosity in favor of specific duties has been of no account, while his Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Cobb, has based all his arguments, and all his action, on the opposite theory. He came into power with large Democratic majorities in both branches of Congress, and why was his power not exerted in favor of a modification of the tariff? Had he expended a tithe of the effort which was employed to carry the Lecompton Constitution through Congress, and to force slavery upon Kansas, the tariff modification might now be a fixed fact.

Now, when a Presidential election is approaching, and the people are called upon to pass judgment in the premises, the adherents of the Administration are as loud in audacious professions, as they were delinquent in duty when the opportunity of affording relief was offered. The interests of our State were not only disregarded, but outraged, trampled upon, and subordinated to a pro-slavery propaganda in the Territories. The only politics professed by the Administration during the last Congress was to make Kansas as much a slave State as Georgia. Such was substantially the declaration of the President's message, it will be remembered, and everything else was surrendered to carry out that assurance literally.

And, now that the issue is joined between the great political parties, and the systems of labor and economy respectively represented by them, let it go fairly and squarely before the country for a verdict. I repeat, in this connection, and in conclusion, what I had occasion to say in the early part of our present session, that, in my judgment, no man, and no party, can or ought to carry the electoral vote of Pennsylvania, unless that man's public life and record is a living illustration of the protective policy, and that party fairly and squarely recognises protection in its platform of principles.

# PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1860.

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